



Against Rape

We condemn the ruling of the Appeal Court judges in the Holdsworth case. It is a clear example of the courts operating from within the 'rape myth' for the victim.

It was the 'primative' victim, not the 'rape' that was taken into account. The victim herself was blamed for the sexual violence she sustained in the assault. Lord Justice MacKinnon, supported by Justice Wynn, 'It is probably that she and would not have been so severely injured if it was not for her unprovoked assault by the man (three) of force (three) in an area being applied in the assault (three)'. This was just one of many specifically sexist remarks made by the judges in court. Justice Wynn used the night of men's (irresistible) urges to excuse the rapist's brutal attack. He said 'Holdsworth is a man who, on the night in question, allowed his enthusiasm for sex to overcome his normal good behaviour'.

By contrast, Carol Maggs' courageous statements to the press exposed the reality of rape and the added injustice suffered by rape victims in the legal system. We support the direct action taken by women in London who daubed military monuments in the Mall with the words 'what justice for women?'. This action extended the public debate on the case, in the Press and in Parliament. It was also a clear message to Carol Maggs that other women were angry at her treatment and like her, will fight to see that women get justice. But this is not enough, the appeal court judges are still presiding over criminal cases in the courts and Holdsworth is still free. We demand that the three appeal court judges be dismissed and Holdsworth's original sentence of three years be allowed to stand. Anything less is a clear miscarriage of justice and an insult to all women.

The reality of rape.

Rape is an act of violence against a woman's body, has existed historically in all male dominated (Patriarchal) societies, long before men decided to define it as a crime. As men have no one to turn to for justice they have come about free of their original intentions - that the violation was first and foremost a violation of male rights of possession, based on male requirements for control and freedom.

Sexual violence, all in which aim to secure patriarchal dominance. A 'crime' against a woman's body, is thus a crime against male property. The law on rape is male defined, and still based on the fact that women are seen as objects for men. Obviously the law does not challenge male power, since it is an expression of that power, and therefore does not and never will deter the act of rape. The system maintains and perpetuates the inequality of women before the law, as it embodies the male (inverted) standards of superiority (male) and inferiority (female). It also upholds and strengthens the double standard of sexuality by giving credence to 'evidence' which endorses the idea of men's inalienable right to fuck women. Male sexuality is seen as irrepresible, uncontrollable and urgent, (best expressed by the euphemism - 'virility'). Women are supposed to keep men's uncontrollable urges in check, and in doing so we have to suppress our own sexuality - be passive, submissive, masochistic. Good women, therefore, do not get raped!

Women inevitably bear the burden of guilt for any sexual encounter with men whether 'freely' chosen or the result of forcible rape. The double standard removes men's responsibility for their aggressive, violent sexuality, and gives them free reign to use women as they please. Obviously, therefore, the defi-

nition of male and female sexuality provides the climate in which rape can occur, and ensures the containment and subordination of women. Rape flagrantly confronts every woman with the fact that she is an object for men's sexual use. Rape is a means by which men can react and prove the reality of women being a conquered sex, reminding us and them of their power by negating our existence with a total humiliation. 'Rape is a means by which all men keep all women in a state of fear and powerlessness' (Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*).

Rape and sexist images of women.

As agents of male power, sexist images reflect, communicate and promote men's ideas of women, and prevent us from defining ourselves and contradicting their derogation of us. Their images of women present an assault on us, and therefore, amount to

a prescription to rape. Why do we feel that rape and sexist images of women are essential radical feminist issues? Sexism is how male power operates against women, rape is the inevitable brutal expression of that power. All men are potential rapists, and therefore, all women are potential rape victims. The reality of rape can affect all women irrespective of age, race or class. Women are raped every day of their lives by the results of sexism and its agents - Capitalism, the family, religion, the media, education, psychiatry etc. - which negate our autonomy and individuality and deny our right to self definition and determination. Rape is the ultimate weapon which keeps us in our place. We must start to expose the Patriarchy's most blatant forms of intimidation by making an attack on rape. ☐ Rape Group, c/o 42 Earlham Street, London WC2.

June 28. Women Against Rape picket the Law Courts.



RAPE
THE
LAW LORDS

Win this strike!



June 29. SPG clear the way for "bus of fear"

Grunwicks—just one non unionised back street sweat shop of the hundreds in North London and the East End which are living death to work in. The boredom and frustration, lack of solidarity, and the feeling of resignation nearly drive you insane, using mainly immigrant workers, continually harassed and insulted by supercilious racist supervisors and arrogant employers, overtime is compulsory and wages pathetic.

August 1976, several people, including Jayaben Desai, decide enough is enough, and walk out. They get in touch with Brent Trades Council, who refer them to those well-known standard bearers of working-class militancy, APEX. A picket line is formed outside the factory, with by now 137 workers out on strike, wanting to join APEX. Ward's response is to sack them all.

After the sackings there followed nine months of picketing by the Strike Committee, while APEX duly pussy-footed about, not wanting to tread on anyone's toes. The courage and strength of the Grunwicks strikers amazes me. To stand outside the factory every morning from 7am onwards (right through a cold winter) for nine months, receiving few signs of practical support and solidarity—it takes some doing.

At the end of May, seeing that playing by the rules was getting them nowhere, the Strike Committee decided to call for 2 weeks mass picketing, to draw attention to events at Grunwicks. On the first day, June 13, around 250 people turned up to express support—the police waded in and arrested 84. Their attack was completely unprovoked, and they enjoyed every minute of it. Since that date, and over 400 arrests later, the dispute has become a national issue with the outcome of extreme importance to many, (as it has been all along for those on strike).

Ward belongs to the Nineteenth Century, and is an embarrassment to the moderate right, who know well that allowing people to join a union (legitimately APEX), is no threat whatsoever. He has attracted support from the sort of scum who would like

to see the Labour Movement in this country smashed—National Association For Freedom, Federation of the Self Employed, bastions of freespeech like Rhodes Boyson, John "I think these people are shits" Gorst. And of course the police and Special Patrol Group (SPG). The media has been having a field day—while the SPG systematically beat up anybody standing in their path (but especially women and blacks, surprise surprise), the press comes out with gems like 'I ride the bus of fear' (SUN) 'surely five pickets would be sufficient' (GUARDIAN) and 'threat to our democracy'.

I've always had a healthy hatred for the police, but have still been shocked at what I've seen them doing. Smashing people in the face, banging heads against walls and vehicles, beating up arrested pickets in police vans. They have always done these things, but usually in private, not out on the streets. A sign of things to come arriving? To lose this strike will be disastrous for the non-unionised working class. The hundreds of thousands of people working in places similar to Grunwicks will completely lose confidence in their ability to stand up and demand basic rights—freedom to

join a union. The police will feel free to carry on as they have done in struggles to come.

The likes of Grantham and Jackson would negotiate a sell-out at the first opportunity—the old familiar story. Only rank and file solidarity will win this strike. As we all witnessed on July 11 (14 000 outside the factory gates), if united, we will win. For a short time the people controlled the streets nearby, and the factory was effectively blockaded. Many were willing to stay all day to prevent the scabs bus passing through, but the officials insisted upon marching—with the result of the bus getting through and the few hundred people left on the picket being attacked by the pigs. Lessons like these should be remembered, and our mistakes not repeated.

I don't know what we as anarchists can do, except show our solidarity to the Strike Committee by attending the picket lines as often as possible (it's been good to see so many anarchists down there), working within our own unions to build support, and by sending donations to the Strike Committee. Win this strike □

Joe Remiro framed

The State of California has concocted another frame up charge against imprisoned ex-SLA member Joseph Remiro. Already serving two life terms for murder and jail break, Joe is accused this time of plotting an escape attempt from Folsom Prison with two other prisoners. The alleged plot came to light last June 4 (although no report was released on it until June 22) after a former associate of Remiro, Bobby Davis, handed a 9-mm pistol and 27 rounds of ammunition over to the prison authorities and implicated Remiro in the alleged escape attempt. Davis is serving a life term for killing four California Highway Patrol officers, and Remiro, with Russell Little, who is in another prison, is doing life for allegedly assassinating Oakland, Cali-

fornia School Superintendent Marcus Foster in 1973 and for an attempted escape from the Alameda County Jail in which two deputies were wounded. In a letter to the Fifth Estate, dated June 29, Remiro denied being involved in any escape plot and said he had just been released into the general prison population after three years of being locked down in solitary confinement and nine months of being a "model prisoner". A search of the prison after Davis surrendered the gun and ammunition turned up 17 prison-made knives including in his cell what Remiro called "a curious metal object that these people insist on calling a knife." Remiro has continually had his life threatened by prison guards and members of the white-paint inmate

grouping, the Aryan Brotherhood. Remiro reports that Davis told prison officials that the plan involved the two of them and another inmate killing members of the Aryan Brotherhood, six guards and then escaping. Remiro told the Fifth Estate, "Of course, these people went crazy. Shotgun escort and a naked walk to the 'hole'". Folsom Prison officials say they are "baffled" as to how the gun got into the prison, the first one ever discovered in the maximum security penitentiary. Guns in the past have been planted on political prisoners, such as George Jackson who was murdered by prison guards, to set them up for executions or to bring additional charges down on them. Remiro says he thinks the charges against him are weak and probably will not reach a civilian court. The incident will be handled as an infraction of prison rules and "we'll be found guilty by a jury of our accusers and keepers." Remiro plans to challenge this. "Don't think that any of us have resigned ourselves to this—we have plans to push this into court or at least raise hell trying."

Joe and Russ Little are victims of the official hysteria over the SLA and are innocent of the murder charges they are sentenced to life for. They deserve our support and assistance □

Protests against Remiro's treatment should be lodged with Assistant Deputy Corrections Director, George Warner, Folsom Prison, Represa (that's right), California 95671 □

The state of Frelimo

"In the phase of people's democracy we are now engaged in... our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of the state."

—Samora Machel, President of Mozambique.

Contrary to what many leftwing apologists have written, the success of Frelimo is not leading to the liberation of the Mozambican people. It has led to their subjugation to a monolithic State-Capitalist regime, who now control all social and administrative units. Although they claim that in Mozambique the exploitation of man by man is over, at the third congress of Frelimo they revealed their objectives.

Frelimo has been transformed into a "vanguard party". It will continue its stranglehold on the whole of society through its control of agricultural collectives, the army, the militia, the education and health centres and the women's movement. The structure of this vanguard party is strictly hierarchical, with the power centred in the "Standing Political Committee". It appears that soon party unions will appear for better control of factory workers.

Frelimo's economic policy is to extract profit from both public and private enterprises, and use this to build up heavy industry. Agriculture is being collectivised in order to increase productivity. Health and Medical facilities are being expanded, as the factories need healthy and trained workers. At the same time they have introduced austerity measures, and started a campaign for increased productivity—more work and less pay—a familiar story.

Under the guise of "liberation", they are churning out a most reviling ideology. Their cultural and educational policy is geared to the creation of the "New Man" who "above all, loves his country". And presumably who will first cause any bother to the regime. The much vaunted emancipation of women consists of replacing the traditional African marital relations with the modern western marriage. The family is to be the basic social cell. Unmarried mothers are a scandal, abortion is

illegal. In fact, Fretilim is merely implementing social changes that are needed for their economy, all neatly described as emancipation.

But all this is only some accident. It stems from the very objectives of Fretilim. They have taken over the Mozambican state and now have to make it profitable in the face of international competition. They are able to succeed where the Portuguese failed because of their ideological hold

over the farmers and workers of Mozambique. But as they find that they are no match for the West when it comes to economic competition, they will screw every bit of work out of the people that they can. For those who are struggling for the abolition of capitalism throughout the world, and the complete removal of hierarchical relationships, all national liberation struggles such as that of Fretilim are merely a diversion down the road of state capitalism. F.B.

U.S. nuclear strategy

The NATO Powers' nuclear strategy was until recently one of deterrence based on the concept of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). This strategy consisted of pointing enough nuclear missiles at each other's nuclear bases in the direction of hostile nuclear powers to ensure that in the event of a nuclear war starting, both sides would be completely destroyed. However, about four years ago there was a major change in U.S. military policy, with nuclear missiles being redirected towards military rather than civilian targets—first in, towards Russia and other Warsaw Pact countries' missile installations instead of their main cities. One may conclude from this that while the western European governments may still be relying on the deterrent effect of nuclear weapons, the US at least is preparing to fight a nuclear war with Russia, probably before the end of this century.

The start of the nuclear war will not depend on some paranoid general pressing the button, 'Dr. Strangelove'.

style, but will be a direct result of either one side or another (i.e. the U.S. or the S.S.R.) developing weapons or defence systems which make victory in a nuclear conflict with possible. Given increasing spending on weapons research and continuing technical progress, such a development is virtually inevitable. Furthermore, once one side or the other feels itself to be in a position where it can destroy the opposition while incurring acceptable losses itself, it will feel constrained to use these weapons in a pre-emptive strike while it possesses the technological advantage. It is clear that military research is being directed at the development of effective first-strike weapons, and the following paragraph outlines the current state of nuclear weapons technology and developments expected in the near future.

At present, all nuclear weapons are second strike, intended to be used in retaliation against nuclear attack. They can be divided into three basic types. The first to be deployed was the



inter-continental ballistic missile (I.C.B.M.). Initially designed as a first strike weapon, modern defence systems such as sophisticated radar and heat-seeking missiles have relegated it to a deterrent role. Shorter range missiles, capable of being launched from a

submerged submarine, have also been deployed. A more modern variant is the multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle (M.I.R.V.). Data on Russian M.I.R.V.'s are unavailable but U.S. missiles, launched into orbit either from land or submarine, carry up to a dozen warheads with a total explosive power of about 500 kt., that is the equivalent of 500 000 tons of T.N.T. (the Hiroshima bomb was approx. 13.6 kt.). On re-entry each warhead is

pre-programmed to descend on a different target. By next year the U.S. is expected to have operational a manoeuvrable re-entry vehicle (MARV), which can be directed onto its target on re-entry. The most sophisticated weapon currently available is the cruise missile. The cruise missile flies low and fast, making it virtually undetectable by conventional radar systems, and an on-board computer guidance system gives it a high degree of accuracy. Even this will be improved upon within the next decade when satellite-based navigation systems come into operation. By that time a typical cruise missile will be around 5-6 metres long, half a metre in diameter and capable of being launched via a standard torpedo tube, able to fly 2 or 3 thousand kilometres at the speed of concord at an altitude of less than 100m., and land with ten metres radius of its target, armed with a nuclear warhead of up to a megaton (1 million tons T.N.T. equivalent). The Americans are technically 5 to 10 years ahead of the Russians with the cruise.

Apart from a deliberate first strike, there are two other plausible causes of a nuclear war. One is an initially limited nuclear war between smaller states, say in the middle-east, Korea or Africa. Such a war would almost certainly escalate to involve the major nuclear powers. It's believed that by 1985 about 35 states will have access to weapons-grade radioactive material. Even with the U.S. policy of non-proliferation, there are ways and means of acquiring fissile material. For instance—in 1968, a ship carrying 200 tons of uranium ore belonging to Euratom disappeared on the high seas. The ship eventually turned up, without the uranium. Recently evidence came to light which indicates that the uranium was hijacked by the Israelis, possibly with U.S. or at least C.I.A. assistance. Despite profuse declarations to the contrary, it's likely that Israel now possesses one or two dozen untested nuclear devices. The second

Italy: the state on trial

Italy is a country in which armed struggle of one faction or another has become almost a tradition. The latest group to put this theory into practice are the Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades). Their specific political concern is a recognisable group formed in 1970 when they attacked and/or kidnapped fascists or right-wing factory managers who had been involved in anti-left activities. They eventually developed the theory of the necessity of building an armed revolutionary workers party and the need to attack the 'core' or the

state (i.e. the legal system) where it is in fact weakest.

Whilst their analysis leaves much to be desired from an anarchist viewpoint, being full of marxist-leninist and marxist diatribe which leads to a very confused view of the Italian political situation, many of their activities have been carried out with admirable ability and effect. Renato Curcio, dubbed 'leader' of the BR by the Italian press is currently undergoing his second spell of pre-trial imprisonment having been busted out of prison by BR comrades the first time.

the first time. They remain so far untied (Curcio was recaptured on Jan. 18th '76) because the BR consistently refuses to be tried by the courts of a state which they oppose. Indeed, their refusal to accept defence lawyers, and the murder of a defence lawyer who a court imposed on them has not only thrown the Italian legal system into crisis (it was in a crisis anyway, but the BR have made it complete) but rendered them untriable. The BR have made it clear that they view the attempt to try it as an act of war to which they will respond with further acts of war, a threat which the state is having to take very seriously. As far as Renato Curcio and his comrades are concerned it is the state that is on trial. Enne.



THE ITALIAN STATE ON TRIAL: Carabinieri surround Brigate Rosse defendants (Renato Curcio left) in Milan.

multiplying factor would be an initially conventional military. Second, unlike the NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe, which could easily migrate into a nuclear conflict, the U.S. is currently jostling "missiles", 155 mm artillery shells with 1-10 kt fusion warheads. Fusion bombs produce more "hard" radiation than the more usual fission bombs—giving a higher immediate kill—but leave very little fallout. If such weapons were used, a full-scale nuclear war would be effectively unavoidable.

Given the available evidence, certainly the continued East-West peace seems misplaced. Military

technology is producing ever more effective weapons for fighting a nuclear war. Missile defense systems such as satellite-based high power lasers will be feasible within a few years. On the other hand, civil defense programmes such as fallout shelters or underground industrial installations are destabilising, as preparations for readiness for a nuclear war may well precipitate one.

The only certain way to avoid nuclear war is total disarmament, though the improbability of this is obvious. It appears that there are only these two alternatives: a rejection of nuclear technology or a global nuclear war within the next thirty years □ J. White

Sono innocente! Sacco and Vanzetti~50th anniversary

August 23 1927 Immigrant Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti electrocuted by the State of Massachusetts following conviction on framed charges of murdering a shoe factory paymaster in South Braintree in a wave of anti radical hysteria.



"If it had not been for this thing, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scolding men. I might have die, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives....all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

Bartolomeo Vanzetti—statement after receiving sentence May 1927

Spain: CNT organises

The following interview took place between the paper Liberation and CNT militant Lluís Edo, in May of this year. The strike at La Roca mentioned in the interview involved 4 800 workers at the multi-national Roca Radiadores, S.A., electronics factory near Barcelona. The Roca workers stayed out for 95 days to press their main demand that their democratically chosen workplace assembly represent their interests. They had to battle not only the bosses, but the puppeting Leftist parties and their allied unions vying for hegemony within the factory. Only the CNT was unreservedly on the side of the workers' assembly. While the strike cannot be counted a complete success, the assembly has survived.

Lluís Andres Edo: The CNT today? To begin with, it is not like other organisations. We have no union officials and no salaried posts. The CCOO (workers' commission) controlled by the CPJ alone have about a hundred. And the UGT also has a few. And then, we base our actions on the autonomy and self-direction of the workers. From this point of view, the strike at La Roca has given us new perspectives.

La Roca is a concern which, in the midst of the industrial boom, has been carrying out its capitalistic policy against the entire family near the factory: the factory housing estate and the factory school. It's just like a kind of "factory reservation". As a result, the workers feel the interference in the 60's was not very militant. The recent strike, which lasted three months, arose not because of economic demands, but through the demand for the reorganisation of an autonomous delegate. What was at stake was the recognition of the representative elected by and responsible to the full assembly of the workers. This strike was merged through a prior the attempt by the left and the CCOO to isolate it and despite the silence on the part of the press. It was a strike of autonomy. There is not even a CNT group in the factory, just a few sympathisers. Perhaps yes. This strike has revealed the gulf between, on the one hand the vertical union, the relationship of the CCOO and traditional union politics, and on the other, workers' autonomy. We supported it. We put all our strength into developing solidarity with La Roca. As you know, 42 workers have been dismissed and the reasons for the struggle still remain despite the ending of the strike.

BERGER: But surely the CNT is officially a union?

EDO: Yes, its structure is laid down, but it has no superstructure. It only functions in a more formal way if, for example, a conference is coming up in the next two months. But beforehand nothing functions formally, and afterwards things go back to how they were. We are fighting against formalism in the organisation.

The CNT is the only organisation for example to develop action simultaneously in the factories and in the community. It is the only union to encourage "popular culture". At the

present moment, the strength of the CNT movement cannot be measured by the posters which bear its symbol or by the number of membership cards. To judge it this way would be idiotic. It can only be assessed through its presence, through its participation in concrete practice.

In Catalonia, 6 000 people pay subscriptions, but the movement in the urban districts extends far beyond this. In Madrid, there are not 25 000 CNT members, but 2 000. Now in San Sebastian de los Reyes [mass meeting mentioned last issue. Z.] there were 25 000 people. It would be stupid to believe that these were only CNT members. The CNT works as an autonomous movement rather than as a structured union—within the CNT there is of course a struggle between those who are for formal mechanisms and those who are for the CNT as it actually is. But it's true to say that the CNT works mostly against its own structures. At the present time, the CNT is trying to define itself and to open to all initiatives for social revolution. We are confronting the movement with the interests of the "Anarchy". "Anarchy" is the place of social and cultural activities formerly set up by the CNT and the whole libertarian movement for the workers in their communities.

We are committed with ecology. We are trying to provide an underlying structure, to be the countervailing force for all autonomous phenomena. But these movements are individually in a hostile state—and for this reason the CNT is maintaining its organisational framework. In La Roca for example, there were five subunit committees with the CNT, and above the solidarity committee of the "Anarchy".



them. [Free Women] and the district committees. There came a point when all these had to be cemented together. We evolve in accordance with the momentum and the tempo of the autonomous movement. The established structure of the CNT and the autonomous movement are constantly confronting one another. On the other

side, the modern counter culture movement has also allied itself to the CNT. So at the moment, the CNT is something rather diffuse and multifaceted. Something which has no shape. The future of the libertarian movement depends upon the results of

pressed down because it has itself grown up in the ghettos of the people. There is a CNT which is concerning itself with cultural problems and coming to terms with all modern movements and trends.

The problems of the two CNTs came out most strongly during the civil war. On one side was a CNT which attacked new problems, and on the other was the one absorbed with the bureaucracy syndrome. One sector concerned itself with revolution, the other with counter-revolution. I have no one particular in mind when I say this. I am speaking about a phenomenon which has occurred in all revolutions. It is not the goals of those fighting which are being questioned here.

BERGER: How strong is the CNT in Spain at the moment?

EDO: It varies from region to region. Especially because of the great restrictions on freedom which still remain in most places. Political development elsewhere cannot be compared with what is happening at the moment in Catalonia. In Andalusia, Aragon and Castile people are still frightened. They don't know what open stand they should take. It must be added that here in Barcelona we have seen demonstrations by workers and political movements with 100 to 150 thousand people. There were months when the Ramblas were under military occupation by the police. But now one can say that there are evenings, when around 10 o'clock on the Ramblas real anarchist zones come into being.

Translation Remira Worvill. An account of the La Roca strike appears in the latest issue of Open Road

Queen saves god

Gay News, the national fortnightly paper for homosexuals (strong male bias) and its editor Denis Lemon were found guilty by a 10-2 majority verdict of blasphemous libel on July 12. It was the first such prosecution for 56 years. Lemon was given a nine-month suspended sentence and fined £500 plus a proportion of the costs. Gay News was fined £1 000 plus the remaining costs. Lemon said he will

issue—that there is still a blasphemy law which can be dragged out to enrage Mary Whitehouse's or anyone's prejudices.

The prosecution's cross examination of character witnesses focussed on the stereotype of gays as corruptors, in spite of the earlier claim that homosexuality was not the issue. Line drawings of male homosexual lovemaking reproduced from a gay sex

manual were discussed. It is incredible that these should be mentioned at all—a quick comparison with the heterosexual equivalent shows that heterosexual rules. It's not O.K. The judge hopes that 'the pendulum of public opinion' is swinging back to a more healthy climate. The climate for gays? In the States Anita Bryant and her Kill a queer for Christ brigade are making political moves and dismantling non-discrimination legislation. In this country the age of consent still works against gay men. In Northern Ireland and Scotland sex between men is still

illegal. Gays are being witch-hunted and harassed at work and in the streets (wherever we are). Lesbians are getting beaten up by gangs of men as they leave a disco in London. Lesbian mothers are having to face obscene custody cases.

Mary Whitehouse, in spite of her claim that she wants no-one to be punished, clearly intended to bust Gay News through cost payments. Meanwhile Gay News fights back. Donations should be sent to Gay News Fighting Fund, 1a Normand Gardens, Greyhound Road, London W14 9SB. Margot Farnham, Judy Greenway.



John & Patrick outside Old Bailey during Gay News trial.

The prosecution was brought originally by Mary Whitehouse in reaction to the poem *The Love That Dares To Speak Its Name* (Gay News June 1982), about a Roman Catholic's homosexual feelings for the dead Jesus. This was held to attack the Christian religion 'beyond the bounds of decent controversy' and was 'likely to cause a breach of the peace'.

The prosecution was taken over from Mary Whitehouse by the Crown. The point was accepted by the prosecution lawyer—feeding into 'jubilee hysteria'. He asked the jury how they would feel if a member of the Royal family had been the subject of such a poem. He reminded them the case was now Queen's Gay News.

At the end of Judge King-Hamilton's summing up he told the jury to question their reaction in the courtroom. 'If you read it to an audience of fellow Christians, could you do it without blushing?' Putting it in such a subjective way the judge managed to evade the

Socialist Challenge

In June, the Trotskyist International Marxist Group brought out the first issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the latest in the series of papers produced by the group which included *Black Dwarf*, *Red Mole* and lately *Red Weekly*.

The IMG at the moment are aiming to establish agreement amongst the various 'far left' groupings. In doing so they have devoted pages in every issue of the new paper to a full-on, heated dialogue addressed to their main rivals, the Socialist Workers Party, who, understandably are quite happy building their own mass revolutionary vanguard party without getting themselves involved in petty inter-group bickering and brokering.

From the pages of *SC*, one can glean the essential differences between their approach and that of the SWP. The SWP is now concentrating on building up their organisation as a party, with single membership formulae and packaged policies to 'aid' the 'rank & file' in their struggles. They, like the IMG, were hoping to benefit from the split in the CP. Ironically, this split has benefited no one but the CP itself which, slithered at long last of its overtly pro Moscow pretence, is now rushing full tilt towards 'Eurocommunism'.

Benyon bill fails

The latest threat to the 1967 Abortion Act, the Benyon Bill, fell in Parliament on July 15th mainly because of lack of time. No doubt the Anti-Abortivists are planning new attacks for the next Parliamentary Session. One important thing the fight against Benyon has revealed is how inadequate NHS facilities for abortion are, and how dependent we are on the Charitable Clinics that were the main target of the Benyon Bill. The NHS has never fulfilled its responsibilities to provide a proper abortifacient service even under the limited 1867 Act and recently has been getting even worse because of spending cuts and doctors' attitudes. In 1958 65% of

all abortions were performed on the NHS, by 1975 this proportion was down to 48%. In one area of London, Brent, the number of NHS abortions has been halved in the two years 1973-5. One of the worst areas in the whole country is Birmingham where in 1975 only about 10% of women who had abortions were able to get them free on the NHS. This is why Birmingham has been chosen by NAC for its next national demonstration on October 29. To help raise support for this demonstration an Abortion Caravan is going to tour the country in October with Pirate Jenny's abortion play. Anne Hughes



Benyon: Would he be so reactionary if it was him that got pregnant?

Anarchist feminist conference

One weekend at the end of May, nearly a hundred women came to Camden Women's Centre in London for a conference on Anarchism and Feminism. This conference arose from two anarchist-feminist workshops at this year's National Women's Liberation Conference where many women expressed the necessity of establishing an anarchist-feminist current within the women's movement, both for our own sense of solidarity and to develop our own theory and practice as part of the women's movement. The conference also involved women who are more active in the anarchist movement.

Over the weekend, we split into small groups to discuss many issues—the

first session involved a series of parallel workshops where every one discussed the ideas of anarchism and libertarianism generally and their relationship to feminism, a theme that was central to the weekend. Other workshops included—Sexism in the anarchist movement, Spain (introduced by a woman from the CNT), Anarchism and the women's liberation movement, Revolutionary feminism, Non-violence, Sexuality, Class, and Children (reports of some of these discussions are in the Anarchist-Feminist newsletter).

For many of us the most important thing that came from the conference was the sense of good feeling and trust. It was a very friendly atmosphere, the space allowed by the large rooms and gardens of Camden women's centre plus the dazzlingly sunny weather, all helped to stimulate spontaneous conversations and workshop discussions.

Clapperclaw, a feminist band, played and sang on the Saturday night. Bread and Roses supplied us with great food all over the weekend, and Rising Free with anarchist and feminist literature. The men and children in the canteen seemed to enjoy themselves too.

Many of us felt we were glimpsing freedom and how life could be when we achieve the society for which we are fighting. Sharon.

Zero 2.

This is the second issue of Zero, a new anarchist/anarcha-feminist monthly produced by a mixed collective mainly from East London. Zero is looking for Streetsellers and also distributors in U.S.A., Canada, Australia, New Zealand. Contact us through Rising Free.

Corrections: *Mujere Libre* translation was wrongly credited. Credit should have read: Translation Liz Willis. Sorry Liz. Marie Louise Berneri article: Last line column 2 should have read 'The clarity and force of the anarchist position against the war quickly brought support from many antiwar individuals who thought out their position and recognised that there was no point in opposing war without opposing the economic situation which engendered it—capitalism—and the institution which organised it, the state.' Sorry Phillip.

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Zero Benefit

ZERO BENEFIT BOP dance to new up and coming band Heavy Skiffle 7-11, Friday August 19th, 7 Dials Club, Shelton Street, WC2, Covent Garden Tube. Licensed. 80p (60p claimants). Be there!

Italy has about a million university students, a high proportion of them come from working class backgrounds, and more than six hundred thousand graduates looking for their first jobs. The Andreotti Government, backed by the Italian Communist Party (the one party Christian Democrat Government kept in office thanks only to outside support from the PCI) intends, with the help of the unions, to cut back the growing numbers of university entrants with educational 'reforms' which would increase the length of university studies, restrict the number of courses open to students and put up the cost of studying.

For some time now Italian youth and students have been living out a new situation reminiscent of May '68, responding militantly to the provocations of the trade union bureaucracies and the police. Once again the struggle is being carried out not by the recognised groups of the

Macrophoto action



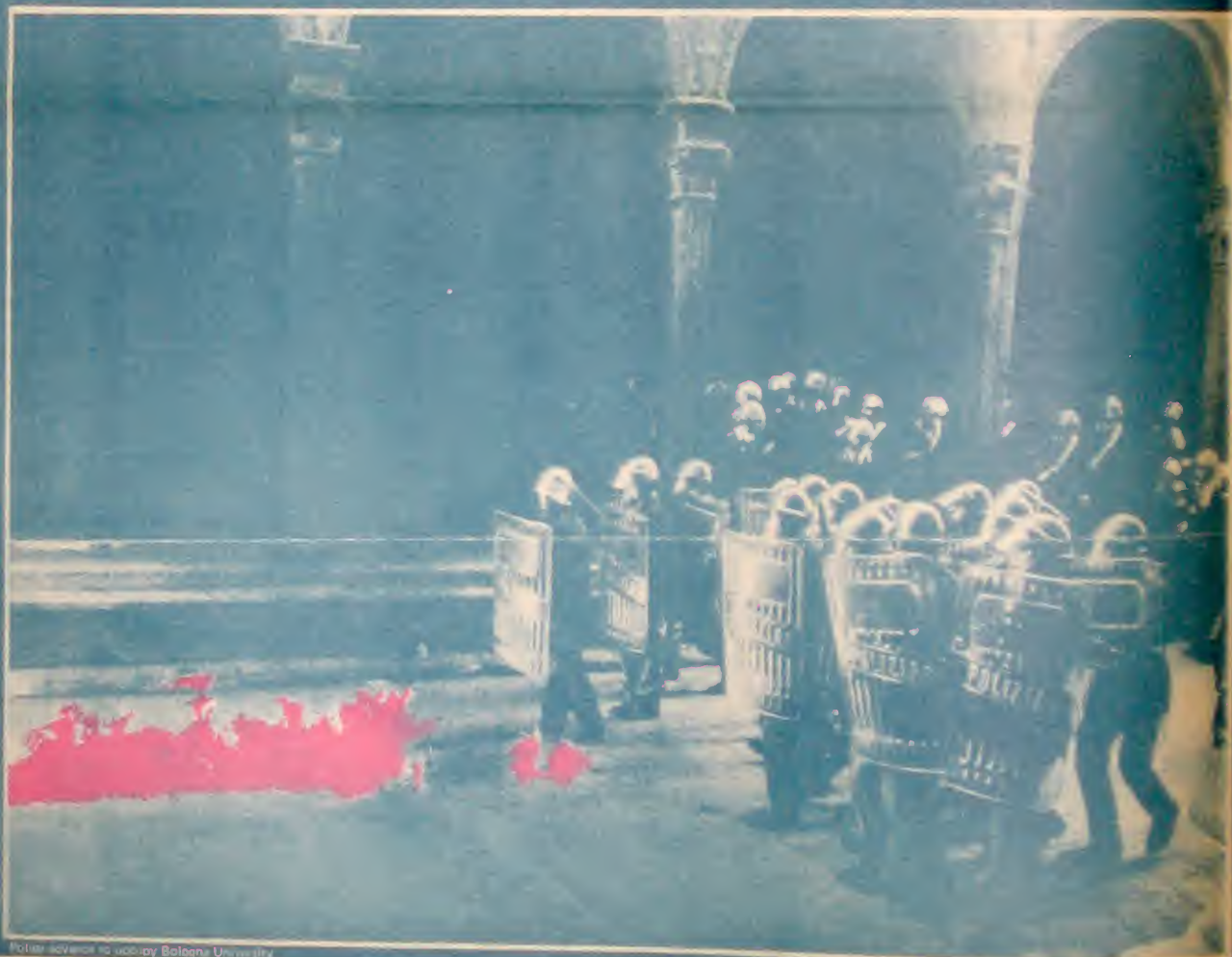
left, but by non-aligned groupings which have sprung up spontaneously in the recent months. Together these groupings, **Autonomia Operaia** (autonomous workers), **Circoli Giovani** (youth circles), the **Metropolitan Indians** and the **autonomous feminist groups** form a movement that represents a new wave of autonomous struggle. Fernando Mir reports the assault on the poverty of Italian urban life.

MILAN

Milan Dec. 7 '76. The city centre was a fortress defended by 5,000 policemen, plus the special anti-terrorist brigades, an unprecedented display of force. The object was to defend the opening night of "Otello" at La Scala. (In 1968 a thousand students outside La Scala bombarded the elegantly dressed patrons with rotten eggs.) This time the protestors were the "Proletarian Youth Circles" who were provoked by the fact that the same people who were calling for sacrifice upon sacrifice to save the Italian economy, had paid astronomical sums (100,000 lire per ticket) to attend the opera.

A similar action had taken place on October 31, when six hundred members of the "Proletarian Youth Circles" seized a packet of 2,500 lire tickets for a cinema showing Bernardo Bertolucci's "1900" and sold them at the political price of 500 lire. The activists of Autonomia Operaia, which organised "re-appropriations" at the

THERES NO WAY TO DELAY THAT TROUBLE COME



Police advance to victory Bologna University

experts of large shopping markets, shops and cafes in the city centre, had a greater impact. The following week groups from neighbourhoods of Milan and its dormitory suburbs gathered on 10th Avenue, San Saba, November 7. 3,000 people had assembled on the Piazza della Vittoria, Milan, taking the police, who were prepared for a routine operation, completely by surprise. Bursting into four columns, they were mounted a demonstration some 4,000 strong. Following this, a price reduction was proposed for multiple performances. This response was a new demonstration, this time involving 52 of Milan's "youth circles", with their banners decorated with garish colours and drawings, the Apache emblem (a hatchet) in the forefront, blue, yellow, the pink and flowered flags of the feminist and gay groups.

The movement is contradictory, apparently heterogeneous, made up of young people who "want to meet together" and who reject both the traditional left and the mimicry of the extreme left.

The autonomous elements fought back in the assemblies against their real needs, their desire for a better life, the importance of occupying houses, the refusal to sign away their whole lives for a wage. "We are coming out of the ghetto. We shall reconquer the city." Assemblies inside and outside the university, spontaneous festivals, occupation of the railway station. "Enough of patience from now on we shall be violent."

The assembly turned into a festival, the festival turned into an instant assembly. Murals began to appear, theatre in the streets, actions of all types.

And all the while the new police force, i.e. the urban marshals, set up at anything striking of "autonomy", long hair, beards, colourful or untidy clothes, army surplus bags, etc.

Feb 17 '77. 20,000 young people come out on the streets to demonstrate their refusal to accept any "historic compromise", any bureaucratic mediation as a solution to their problems: unemployment, the yawning for a free

means of organising humanity. The destruction which the Metropolitan Indians are preaching is nothing but self-defence, a defence against the outside world.

The autonomous groups formed by ex-members of the long left parties express themselves like this former militant of Lotta Continua (Continuous Struggle). Extra-parliamentary left group with policies similar to Big Flame: "Those who call us apolitical make me laugh. Politics no longer exists, if it ever did. What does the PCI mean to me? I wouldn't have thrown bricks at Lama on Thursday February 17. I would have climbed up on the platform, taken him in my arms and kissed him. They were looking for a fight. Bricks are what they wanted. A passionate kiss would have destroyed him. That's what we have to do, destroy the whole thing without being afraid of our own madness."

A woman from the autonomous Feminist groups: "During the last few years of long hard struggles against the male state we have learned to make no distinction between work and sex. The self-help we have been practising for some time now has led us to refuse, once and for all, the idea that anyone or any group should be the compulsory mediators of our daily work. We women are the foremost outcasts of this shitty society. We chose to fight alone, at almost, for abortion, for women's control of abortion, to force doctors not to refuse to perform abortions for so-called reasons of conscience, etc. At the same time, I reject the label of woman-mother, which simply boils down to double exploitation of women—of reproductive woman, who provides society with its labour force, and of supposedly emancipated woman, whose task it is to create a situation where women are no longer the principal outcasts. That's why I am taking part in this movement, as a woman and also as one of the unemployed with the obligation of not submitting to the black labour market."

I feel optimistic. May '68 was the revolution of the privileged, the sons of well-to-do parents. February '77, on the other hand, is mainly the revolt of the

ROME

After the expulsion of the communist Lama from the university, the Rome movement proclaimed: "We have hunted down General Lama, but this will not be our Little Big Horn." The Minister of the Interior, following the Indian terminology, had this to say: "We shall not allow our country to be turned into the Wild West. The university shall not become a stronghold of Metropolitan Indians, freaks and hippies."

The whole movement reveals a desire to "transform life" and at the same time a certain despair that we are in the emergence of the Metropolitan Indians. "The Indian thing is a pretext," says a student with fantastically painted skin, "by tomorrow we shall have disappeared or split up into a thousand tribes. Never mind. The important thing is that within the movement there is less talk, less ideology, more truth, a new form of political activity and, finally, new kinds of inter-personal relations."

MANIFESTO OF THE METROPOLITAN INDIANS

We demand:
The abolition of borstals (as a step on the way to the abolition of all prisons).

The requisition of all empty buildings for the establishment of youth centres and communal alternatives to family life.

Public funds to be made available for the financing of alternative drug rehabilitation centres and all independently run cultural organisations.

The reduction of admission charges for the cinema, theatre, and all other cultural establishments to a level determined by the youth movement.

The total decriminalisation, irrespective of misuse, of marijuana, mescaline and LSD, including their distribution, use and development by the movement.

Wages For Laziness.

THE EVERY DAY PARIS '68.. ..ITALY '77

life, the rejection of all forms of authority, etc. — Indian, hippie, anti-unemployed, autonomous groups. There, then, is a difference between the young people of May '68 and the Metropolitan Indians, the feminist and the ex-members of the left parties. The former were the beginning of a quantitative and qualitative renewal of the revolutionary movement; they took the first steps, and they saw in Colin Bennett and others the spokesmen of the revolution. Today, the fringe groups of 1977, the feminists, the feminists, the unemployed, the autonomous groups, the archivists, have no representatives. They have sometimes even gone so far as to forbid any comrade in give interviews or speak on behalf of the movement. The movement must find its expression only in the assemblies and in the streets, through the different and equally important voices of all who have something to say. No bureaucracy, not even symbols. No vanguard, just autonomous action.

These groups are impragmatically with the practice of direct action and liberation ideas but this does not define them exactly. Nor do the groups themselves feel the need for a precise definition beyond the expression of originality in word and action. Listen to one of the Metropolitan Indians who made (themselves) felt last winter in Milan by telling the bourgeoisie to look in the famous Milanese arcades:

"Our aim is to destroy the world of bourgeois politics, which has nothing to do with life and happiness. We are tired of listening 'workers power' when nobody wants to give power to the workers. Thursday in the university of Rome, the PCI militants agreed to protect Lama [General Secretary of the Generale Italiana D'Amato, communist controlled trade union confederation] because he told them there would be some faults for them to beat up. But when they heard our slogans they began to smile. Improve of Lama they are still human beings. That's why we take slogans, to show people that a slogan is nothing but empty words, no more than a noise. It can help us laugh together and help towards changing political activity so far life. It's no longer enough to stand up and be heard—we need to sing. . . . We want jobs for human beings, mother, mother, mother, our badly paid. Jobs that leave us time to play and be together. We want houses for all, open houses, open houses, without armies or families. Belong to the lower middle class, a new class, which is in the middle class, what the bourgeoisie is to the working class. My father is a minor civil servant, I am a man who is desperate. . . . We want a society that looks like a human being, not a machine that pretends to be rather than a worker who are craftsmen, artisans, co-operatives instead of factories. . . . I don't like disorder but I know that is inevitable, that it's the way of life of living like a human being in a society in which order

degenerate, the unemployed, of today and tomorrow, the proletarians. And it will continue, I am sure, even if it takes time to change things."

After the death of Francesco Lorusso [Lotta Continua militant shot by police in demonstration March 11] Bologna was in a state of siege. On Saturday March 12, a police station was attacked in Turin and 4,000 people demonstrated in the streets. In Milan, an explosive device went off in a carabinieri barracks. On the same day 10,000 demonstrators took to the streets of Milan and Molotov cocktails were thrown. At Milan university, as in other faculties throughout Italy, the break between the communist youth and the extreme left was already quite clear on the Friday Saturday demonstration was violently anti-PCI and anti-union. Typical slogans chanted by the demonstrators were: "Sacrifice yourself Lama, we don't feel like sacrifices." "The PCI with the bones that's back provocation."

MANIFESTO OF THE YOUTH CIRCLES

(Adopted at the National Congress) "What we do, react against revolution, impatience, carry out occupations and self-reduction of prices in cinemas, fight against fascism, oppose bourgeois culture, denounce youth unemployment, black market labour and over-exploitation of marginal labour."

What we want: more creativity at the workplace and in the working-class districts, a more energetic critique of daily life, militancy, the satisfaction of our need to be something, of our desire to redeem our role. The tone of the movement, breaks and young proletarians of all Italy, is advancing on Milan.

Two days of play, discussions, music, etc. . . . the three for life, for a total exchange of experiences. We danced long around the great inter-pole during the season of the strawberries. We have crossed the green plains, we saw the great mountains, we have travelled the paths without rest until at last we came upon the great salt lake in the season of the hot colours.

Now the rainy season has come, the rain that blurs the colours. We need warmth, we need to remain together to live in happiness during the cold season.

The grey coats (police) have denied us everything. They pursue us with their cold eyes. They wish to engulf us in the chaos of this city. They open their huge pair jaws to swallow us up in their rotten ghettoised guts.

But the wind of our anger will blow peacefully in the psychotic cars. Our wrath will settle their lunatic claims. Their terror will take on the colours of our tenderness. Their disdain will freeze our forces; their presumption will destroy them. We have dug up the hatchet.

Never again shall we smother the pipe of peace with the grey coats.

1Km² land for every person and animal.

The abolition of the age of majority so that all children that want to leave home are free to do so, even if they can only crawl.

The immediate release of all animals from flats and cages. The destruction of zoos and the right of captive animals to return to their homelands.


The destruction of the Altar of the Fatherland [a monument in Rome] and its replacement with every kind of vegetation with space for animals and a lake for swans, ducks, frogs and fish.

The peoples assembly proposes to organise, starting in the community, anti-family militias to free young people, especially girls, from patriarchal tyranny. The Metropolitan Indians call upon all creative young people to organise a national happening of the young proletarian for the beginning of spring.

APPROACHING DRUMBEATS

The sound of the tom-tom has reached our ears at last. All the violence of our opposition to a world, a society encountered ready made that is constantly in our backs, is now erupting. "Not a revolution, you majestic, a mutation." A mutation that is finding its full expression in a moment of lucidity. Today we are violent, just as at other times we were silent detractors of a game that had nothing to do with our real lives. Suddenly we have discovered that we are many. We know that our strength is nothing in the struggle to change a whole society. Sometimes the only way out is to head for a new promised land. Nevertheless, we love our cities. Enough to think of creating our nation in a city that makes us outsiders, in a few houses in a single block. . . .

We were hippies, or we felt ourselves like brothers at a given moment. We dreamt of California and the flowers, the groups, their life, until the system put it all on the market. We felt with the events of '68, and we imagined the barricades in our own streets. We put on war paint and gave free rein to our emotions and vibrated with our Italian '77. And we saw every thing go under. We saw that once again the game was too strong for us to resist assimilation. We had departed once again at the thought that Italy '77 had been yet another failure. But we were filled with joy in the end, when we realised that Italy '77 was, yet again with the cry of a people that will never be assimilated, whatever tricks the system may employ.

We raise our banner, and a single slogan remains engraved on our hearts: "LET NO ONE PREVENT US FROM BEING OURSELVES."  **Autunno '77. Piazza 22. Translated Barry Sheen.**



When the music's over: OZ and the underground. Recouperated..or upstaged?

Oz slipped quietly out of our lives in the winter of 1973 and, sadly, no real successor has emerged to fill the yawning gap it left. It was unique in its approach to graphic art, and both its art and its politics were relentlessly experimental, frequently both astonishing and infuriating its readers with flexible, often contradictory and confusing aims and ideas. The remarkable freedom given to contributors gave it a bewildering mixture of widely differing subjects and views, complemented (and sometimes obscured) by breathtaking artwork.

So what went wrong, then, and why did Oz come to such an untimely and anti-climactic end? David Widgery and Richard Neville both wrote several pieces on this theme before the final issue, in which Widgery mourned the death of the underground movement, having written the obituary for Oz in a previous issue. He starts by asking how "erstwhile rebels" - become sheepfarmers, politicians, senior lecturers in dissent sociology, teachers, radio-writers, commercial radio boozers, the question perhaps prompted by the frantic (and successful) forays into the underground press at that time by the established music papers, and the newly formed local and commercial radio stations to absorb as many dissident writers as they could tempt, with fat salaries. The continual strain of carrying on in the face of this and the open hostility towards Oz displayed by almost all the rest of the press, and desperate financial straits meant, as Widgery points out, that the quality

of many papers fell, and the cynicism of many writers grew, at a time when larger numbers of people were beginning to show interest. The gossip-column harshness of Fleet St, superseded the idealism of the late sixties, and the revolutionary artwork was gradually replaced by more and more full-page ads for record companies. George Melly had said at Oz's trial (in June-July 1971) that he'd called his book 'Revolt Into Style' because, as he saw it, each popculture began as a revolt which was seized upon by entrepreneurs, packaged and turned into 'style'. Charles Shaar Murray, writing in the Schoolkid's Oz (which was the excuse for the trial) made much the same point, i.e. that once the media found that it couldn't ignore the music of the underground, the next step is 'take it over, package it, sell it back to itself'. This works very well. "Capitalism is alive and well - thanks to us... what can you do with your street-fighting ideals if the very people you want to fight against can package street-fighting, put it into posters, records and books and sell it back to you at enormous profits?" Widgery argues that the underground was smashed by the forces it had defied because, by 1968, it couldn't be "laughed at or ignored or patronised any longer", and the lengthy series of raids, seizures of material and general harassment by the police, up to and including the eventual trial showed quite clearly that Oz had caused considerable panic among certain sections of society.

Its anti-authoritarian stance, its questioning of the work ethic and its often sensationalised and exaggerated sexual content meant that Oz stood on one

side of what Richard Neville called the culture gap, which was much more than a simple generation gap. Those who were quick to attack Oz were often motivated by fear, stemming from a complete inability to understand what was going on. To the Fleet St papers, Oz was just a more offensive than usual piece of porn, and the obvious point about pornography, so obvious that the Longfords and the Whitehouses etc. can't see it, is that in itself, it presents little threat to capitalism. It is an eminently saleable commodity; why shouldn't capitalists sell sexuality itself if they can use sex to sell practically anything else they want us to buy? Thus the porn industry flourishes with the co-operation of the law, and publications dealing with sex are rarely prosecuted for that reason alone. It is when they can be seen to have progressed from mere sensation towards forms of social satire, and actually ask questions about the nature of sexuality, morality and the law that the forces of law and order invoke their best vintage bull-doz about protecting us all from depravity and guarding public morals against corruption. As Richard Neville explained at the trial, Oz and its readers had had enough of the powerful interests which controlled the media, whether it be for political or financial ends. Oz sought to provide a voice for people with new things to say and nowhere to say them. The intention was to mirror a changing way of life all over the world, giving a platform to the "socially impotent" whose struggles were denied legitimacy - homosexuals, children, women, blacks, the poor, the third world, clinically defined psychotics and "erotic minorities".



What was actually happening was that the prosecution was being used to stifle "inconvenient" expressions of dissent, such as a playgroup lobby of political correctness was necessary in order to neutralise potential subversion, with the support of the public. At the trial, the prosecution eagerly stood upon the various items dealing with sex and drugs, successfully appealing to the deep-rooted prejudices of the press, the public and the jury. As John Mortimer, (Q.C. for Felix Dennis and J. in Anderson) said in court, we "necessarily allow free debate but when the issues of sex and drugs are raised, then a curious lack of logic starts to cloud the mind, deep personal emotions become involved and an instinct seems to rise up that discussion should be stifled." Richard Neville attempted, throughout the trial, to deal with what was really happening, but in the face of such an irrational denial of reality, this proved to be impossible. The Judge and the prosecution would not even concede the relevance of the very issues which Neville and Mortimer had argued, were central to the case, i.e. the right to free dissent, the erosion of our freedoms and the fact that the implications of the prosecution affected everyone, in that everyone's right to free discussion was at stake. Judge Argyle informed the jury that these arguments were not what the case was about at all. "Mr Neville's opening speech. Alas, so much of it missed the point. Most of it had nothing to do with the issues that we have to consider. . . this is not a political prosecution."

The court was clearly in another world. In Richard Neville's words it was like going back, in time "to a woodland of wigs and starched collars, of liveried courtiers and secret passageways . . . and people talked as though the outside world stood still. And most of what went on in that world, moreover, was probably irrelevant." By the end of the trial it must have been clear to the defendants that any attempts to relate the prosecution of Oz to the infringements on our freedom made by the Industrial Relations Bill and the Misuse of Drugs Bill (both being pushed through at the time by the Tory government) in such an atmosphere was

futile. So, too, was Neville's appeal to the jury to help bridge the culture gap with their verdict, to try to show that some people were prepared to listen to new ideas and values. In fact, the case demonstrated that authority merely paid lip-service to such ideas as "free speech" and "tolerance", and was certainly not prepared to act on such notions if it didn't suit its purposes. The police had taken on an explicitly political role in areas where it was, quite rightly, considered that it would be comparatively easy to secure conviction, and at the same time, provide an opportunity for the police to gain experience and enlarge their files. Subsequent events, involving the Conspiracy laws, the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Official Secrets Act have shown that the powers of the police are gradually being increased in an effort to institute greater political control over dissenting groups, both in terms of their propaganda and their activities. The attacks on Oz and the underground press can perhaps be interpreted as the early stages in the creation of a climate in which censorship, detention without trial, deportation, restriction of movement, police harassment and invasion of privacy and civil liberties are regarded as normal and acceptable aspects of law enforcement.

Oz's concern with what was really happening meant that it stood against the traditional left as well as the right. Its politics of everyday life which questioned the work ethic, hierarchy and power was closer to anarchism, and its often naively enthusiastic approach attacked the sterile dogmatism and arrogant self righteousness of the left just as viciously as it condemned the brutality of everyday life in the capitalist state. For anarchists, Oz was important because it raised issues scarcely recognised by the rest of the left. It's difficult to imagine any Trotskyist group campaigning on behalf of Richard Neville's "erotic minorities", or children's rights. At best, the left dismissed Oz as irrelevant, and at worst, condemned it as "bourgeois degeneracy." Indeed, the left's obsession with the horrors of sex, drugs and mysticism was hardly different from the crass over-reaction of the hysterical right, and such a completely inadequate

critique wasn't able to gloss over the glaring defects shown in the left's own analysis. It barely concealed, moreover, the fact that in a society controlled by such organisations, Oz and the like would be among the first to be suppressed. "Revolutionary socialism", Widgey argues, "is profoundly libertarian and concerned with the totality of working class life." Therefore, he believes that a magazine like Oz has to be firmly anchored in working class politics, although he admits the "crab-wise progress of socialism in our time, particularly the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the twenties." The real problem is that "revolutionary" socialism has always defeated itself because its struggles have usually been confined to relatively narrow issues and ignored issues which simply cannot be ignored. A purely class analysis doesn't ask enough questions about the totality of our lives as obedient consumers of both goods and ideology. It was perhaps possible, for those that recognised this, to escape the socialist tradition, and Oz at its best represented precisely that escape: a voice for those with the temerity to demand a say in the running of all aspects of their lives. For a while, it seemed that the revolution was going to be fun after all. However, fun wasn't a concept recognised by the law or the left. A revolution for fun means a revolution for a new way of living without wage-slavery, without domination and exploitation, where human beings can choose to live together, without coercion, in free co-operation, having full control over their lives and their environment. Such a vision is inevitably at odds with the left because there is no mention of a centralised organisational hierarchy, and, for the left, revolution has always been about authority and control. The party elite rules; strategy is dictated from above and those below had better respond with disciplined obedience. On no account must we organise ourselves, or act directly and spontaneously. Above all, we shall not enjoy ourselves. How much real difference is there between this kind of authority and the attitude of Judge Argyle in banning laughter from his court? The absurd and unreal world where, every so often, as Richard Neville puts it, everyone bows to the leading man, functions in precisely the same way whoever controls it, and has no place in any truly free society.

Left and right were unanimous in their condemnation of the sexual content of Oz. For the right it was just the excuse needed to launch an attack. For the left it was just a symbol of its supposed degeneracy, and nowhere did their condemnation touch on its deep sexism. In fact the best criticism of Oz often came from within its own pages, and David Widgey acknowledged that it had failed to recognise the true nature of the oppression of women. "What finally knackered the underground was its complete inability to deal with women's liberation." It was not enough to condemn repression and hypocrisy, and bring sexuality out into the open, if the new sexual revolution was only going to be a resurrection of the old confidence trick of "free love", whereby women were expected (by men) to assert their "freedom" to reject their formally passive sexuality and yet still continue to fulfil a role designated for them by men, just as straight left politics concentrates on class analysis and pays scant attention to oppression of all women, whatever their social position, so Oz and the undergrounds failed to understand that genuine sexual revolution would have to mean the end of male domination in all sexual, social and political situations. Revolution has always been seen by men as being man's domain, and has accordingly always been defined in terms of male sexuality, women being relegated to a secondary role of "companion" to offer support and loyalty to their master. The imagery of revolution, whether in posters of Che, the romanticised machismo of the guerrilla, or the crash helmeted heavy militants of the sixties "new" left, has reinforced malesupremacist notions and masculine definitions of "the rebel" and this firmly established sexist tradition in left wing politics has contributed to the continued enslavement of women by men. Oz, although unable to escape this concept of male dominated politics, published many articles which made most of the above points. True to its contradictory nature, it managed to combine such critiques with outrageous sexism in the form of advertising from the recording industry, straight profiteering pornography organisations and articles and illustrations which treated women in much the same way as Playboy. It's all too easy to see how Oz and the underground made mistakes and that fundamental issues were not being adequately dealt with. Once this was realised it was time to stop, re-think, and start again. Trouble is, having stopped, nobody's got any further, and Oz, the underground (whatever it was or wasn't), the events of May '68 and the all too brief hope all of these things offered us has very suddenly become another piece of history, and another set of mistakes that we can (we hope) learn from. Perhaps Angelo Quattrone summed it up in his piece on the situationists (Oz 20): "The myriads of desire not fulfilled, the thousand desires sparked by daily frustration, fill our air with a lethal mixture which slowly assassinate the acquiescent. The rebel chokes, his cough is the only sign of life in the thick smog." Pity about the masculine pronoun. . . I.T. take note. Geoff Ingarfield

REVIEWS

ANARCHISTS IN ANDALUSIA 1868-1903. By Temma Kaplan. (Princeton £6.00)

This is a substantial and useful addition to Temma Kaplan's work on anarchism in Spain, maintaining high standards of research and analysis. It contains much detailed information, and provides evidence to counter some of the assumptions some of us may hold about the movement in late 19th century Andalusia.

Reflecting from the view that the anarchists were all backward peasants, or alternatively urban-dwelling radicals (labourers who stood up to a structure coming from the peasant), the petty-bourgeois and peasant proprietors, ranged against the government and big bourgeoisie, and embodying an element of class struggle in their own ranks. The geographical background is filled in with a thorough account of the dominant sheep industry.

Anarchist ideas were brought to Spain in the wake of the setting-up of the I.W.M.A. in 1864, but the principles of Bakunin's Alliance rather than those of the International were the ones taught to Spaniards. In discussing the differences between them, Temma Kaplan does not spare Bakunin from criticism. "He and his political followers had principled objections to mass politics without the guiding hand of a political and intellectual elite," and he "was obsessed with conspiracy" (p. 72).

The successive International and other bodies established in Spain were not without their problems of ethnic, but as well as describing the various debates and splits, T.K. makes the point that the anarchists' movement came quickly to be integrated with the community, through women's sections, libraries, schools, etc. It was this "scholastic-like construction merging with local working class culture" that enabled it to survive in periods of severe repression.

Local anarchists working to create a popular movement fused its sections and trades unions became divorced from the Bakuninist leaders, allied with the intransigent wing of the Republicans, whose politics were insurrectionary, but in the period 1868-73 they were united in struggle against the Spanish state. This first phase culminated in the 33-day armed revolution in Sanlúcar de Barrameda which involved a commune and provided a model for subsequent attempts.

Despite the existing repression, privatisation and counter-democratic centralism, the "anarquistas" (anarchists) remained strong. Yet the community base was itself an element in one of the most significant controversies among libertarians in the 19th century: the question of methods and priorities in between workers, on the one hand, and the poor community on the other. "The challenge to anarchism in Andalusia was to organize those who were working while, simultaneously, winning solidarity from masses of women and the unemployed" (p. 135). Anarchist centralism, community ownership and control by individual unions, needed to attract the most skilled, while anarchists communists attracted those "bourgeois" notions. The "individual view" was eventually overruled by the development of anarcho-socialism, but it would be interesting to know how the old debate influenced the organisation of collectives in 1916-7.

Communist in Spain provide

more than a mention here of the Harvest Strike of 1883, involving Portuguese migrants in impressive solidarity; the abortive Perez Insurrection of 1892, wholesale repression, terrorism, and the perpetuation of anarchist organisation of the community by such means as mutual aid societies. In 1902 3 strikes were widespread, sections were dissolved and centres closed, but decentralisation again proved a source of strength. It was the failure of 1904-5 which added weight to the difficulties and forced anarchism underground for a decade. It was not all, of course, dead.

In conclusion, T.K. describes the struggle of anarchism in this time and place as being in the margin of communal and militant trade union tradition. The last chapter, "Spontaneity and Militarism" makes the point that spontaneity meant maximum autonomy, not lack of organisation, and that the movement was not a quasi-religious primitive-mystical mania (despite such oddities as the fraternal initiation of infants into anarchism) but a reasonable response to the social situation, its strategy and tactics "rational and effective".

Supplied with numerous Tables as well as Bibliography and Index, this study could itself be described as both rational and effective, and is well worth ordering from a library if you can't afford to buy it. ☐ L. WILKIN

ANARCHISTS IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION By José Pierats. (Solidarity, Toronto. £2.50)

On the 27th of June a hundred people gathered together in London to discuss "What is the C.N.T.?" Whilst in many ways the new C.N.T. that is emerging is quite different to that of the twenties and thirties (e.g. the debate about sexual freedom), it can best be understood in the light of its history. The translation of Pierats' book enables English readers to learn that history.

The book covers the development of anarchism from the first International to the present day, though it only discusses in detail the movement from the establishment of the C.N.T. in 1910 to the victory of Franco. In the early years, the anarchists were at the forefront of the resistance to Rivera's despotic regime. When the republic was declared they still had to deal with the repression meted out by the republicans and socialists. In these turbulent years there were several unsuccessful uprisings. However when the army rebelled under Franco, the spontaneous actions of the workers were gradually turned into support for the republic. Faced with the prospect of a Franco takeover the C.N.T. acted with the legitimate authorities, considering them the lesser of two evils. With hindsight it is easy to question this decision. It is sad to read how the achievements of the collectives and appropriations were gradually undermined as the revolution was quickly defeated by, paradoxically, the Spanish Communist Party. Franco had taken the whole of Spain. The pathetic complaint of the C.N.T. officials following the massacre of anarchist militants in May 1937 illustrates the degree of government collaboration. Would the republican army guards were shooting anarchists, as Barcelona, the C.N.T. did its best to win popular resistance. From that time on their influence waned. Anarchists were needed out of the republican military, either through legal means or else in cold blood. The C.N.T. did little to try

and stop the tortures and imprisonments by the communist parties secret police.

With the re-emergence of the C.N.T. it is important that the lessons of its previous failures are learnt. It is more a question of how to deal with those parties that claim to be revolutionary, such as the communist party, than how to defeat fascism. "NEVER IN HISTORY has any government, 'leftist' or otherwise, fulfilled the needs of the working classes" (C.N.T. leaflet June 1977). There is much to be learnt from Spanish history - there are lessons for us all whatever country we are in. Though the world has changed a lot in the last forty years, revolutionaries in all countries will be faced by the leftist parties who will try and divert the revolution back into reformed capitalism. This book can help us prepare for these dangers. ☐ F.B.

POLAND: 1970-71 CAPITALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLE. (Black and Red 90p)



Although its subject matter is events which took place 7 years ago this book, which is a translation of the major part of a work originally published by the French group Informations Correspondances Ouvrières, is most timely. In a period when the monolithic edifice that was the Eastern Bloc is beginning to crumble, an understanding of the Polish strikes and demonstrations of late 1970 is essential to an understanding of the revolutionary drama which is unfolding in that bloc.

The book divides into 2 parts: the first part is a vivid and exciting description of the workers' response in the Baltic ports of Gdansk, Gdynia and elsewhere in Poland to the imposition of massive increases in the price of food. Coming as it did just before Christmas, these price rises were a masterpiece of bureaucratic stupidity - the product of a crisis-ridden economy, an economy dominated by the interests of Soviet state capitalism. To add insult to injury, the prices of a number of items such as TV sets which only bureaucrats can afford, were reduced. Having no other means of expression, the workers' anger exploded into strike and demonstrations.

In Gdansk, disorganised workers elected a delegation which went to discuss the price rises with the local Party bureaucracy. The delegates were arrested. The following morning the workers took to the streets. Marching to the tunes of the Internationale and the Hymn of the People's Guards, they made their way to the Party offices to demand the release of their arrested comrades.

Here revolutionary sociologists should note that the workers attempted to involve students from the Polytechnics. The students did not respond. Fighting broke out on the afternoon of December 14 when police attempted to stop workers reaching Party headquarters. Taking hold of stones, bolts, lead pipes, chains, whatever came to hand, the workers fought back. The police retreated. Buildings symbolic of the power and privilege of the Party were set on fire. Police cars were captured and thrown off a bridge onto a railway line. Bottles and alcohol were seized to make molotov cocktails. Handings and Christmas trees were used to make bonfires in the streets, fire engines sent to put them out were added to the conflagration. Buses were also set ablaze.

Shops were looted, workers taking furs, oranges, wines, items of conspicuous consumption which normally they could only dream of. The bureaucratic expropriators were being expropriated with a vengeance. The workers were acting for themselves and themselves alone.

To quote the book, "The workers self-organisation in a nation wide struggle convincingly refutes those who hold that the working class can only remain at the stage of blind rebellion without the participation of 'heads', of an 'elite' and a section of the forces of order. Their isolation from other classes forced the workers to organize themselves. Poland in 1971 provides an example of development from the ground up and according to the requirements of the struggle. This example is all the more 'pure' because intervention by any party, union or group was impossible; they had been ruthlessly eliminated by the 'workers' party" which embodied the repressive system in all its rigidity."

Part 2 of the book clearly shows how the bureaucracy recuperated the working class back into the structure of official society. This was achieved by a clever mixture of stick (the use of troops who opened fire on the workers, arrests and imprisonment, the threat of Soviet intervention) and carrot (promises to rescind the price rises and increase wages, the distribution of a bonus, talk of "workers' participation") at the same time, seizing opportunity in both hands, the technocratic, economist faction of Grek in alliance with the stalinist, ultra-nationalist group of Moczar pushed himself into power, ousting the discredited Gomulka who had himself ridden to power on the revolutionary wave of 1956.

The translators' postscript bears witness to the fact that the events of 1970/71 were no flash in the pan. In 1976 workers' anger at price rises again exploded into strikes and riots, the effects of which are still being felt. On May 15, 3,000 marched in Krakow to protest at the mysterious death of Stanislaw Pyka, an active supporter of the Workers Defence Committee set up to visit the families of those arrested during the riots. The widely distributed and read seminar publication Informations Bulletin carries news of the Workers Defence Committees and enables workers to contact them. Recently, they collected 2,000 names on a petition demanding an inquiry into the torture of workers detained in 1976.

This book contains many important lessons for workers on both sides of the Iron Curtain. British workers could do worse than follow their Polish comrades example. ☐ Terry Lodge

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